1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 562 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 561 226 Six watch houses (*wale palenga*) are scattered through the reserve of Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taka*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Niua at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 241 262 The monthly guard change (*te ninga pule*) is accompanied by a division of food from the reserves among the people of the village.

In Loto a division of drinking and mature nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Niua and Uta. The change of guard in Niua on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the division included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 245 244 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*lasi*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs around the boles of the trees. Formerly the breaking of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief 694

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625 517 694 203 is known by the way in which the *loui* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats, cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vanaŋa*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or [653] firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

Wakatongologo mai koloa,[4] e to tasa[4] kolu ki te vanaŋa a te pule ko avatu ki a koloa ia. I a koloa, awe taku koloa i a koloa tuaa ke wakatoloatoka wua i te motu. Ke pukpu mana i loto, e vayi loa, ŋaalepolepo. No i ai na atuai ia te vanaŋa ke longo koloa taliŋa. Wakanaaaia koloa wakalelei. Ko te vanaŋa ia na atuai ai ki a koloa. Tangi ai loa ia te manu ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 696 577 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

625 291 489 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotoua* fern to use as fertiliser for village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [4] Note the use of the plural pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, datou, katou. The latter is used in all public pronouncements.